

additional information.¹⁶¹ Duffy said at the time he did not know if it was unusual to allow extra time to provide additional comments after the area office had conducted its consultation.

Skibine and Duffy told investigators that the tone of the meeting was “aggressive.” Independent evidence confirms this tenor. For example, in a letter to Taylor the day after the meeting, Corcoran stated that he had spoken with Kitto about the Oberstar meeting and it sounded “like Duffy now knows he’s got a fight on his hands.”

Skibine took notes during the Feb. 8 meeting, which he later circulated to some of his IGMS staff. In his notes, Skibine listed concerns raised by the meeting attendees, including:

- the economic impact on existing gaming enterprises (including those in Minnesota);
- the potential political fallout from establishment of an off-reservation casino because of the agreement among Minnesota tribes not to seek off-reservation gaming opportunities and fear of a “backlash against all gaming tribes,” with the possibility that Congress will then “amend IGRA to the detriment of all Indian tribes”;
- a claim that there had been “no adequate consultation with Indian tribes under sec. 20 of IGRA” due to lack of clarity on the part of BIA about the meaning of “nearby”;
- a claim that the acquisition involved lands within the historical territory of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux;
- opposition by local Wisconsin communities;

¹⁶¹Witnesses also recall that Frank Ducheneaux provided his interpretation of the consultation provision of IGRA. Ducheneaux had previously had contact with Skibine on unrelated matters.

Ducheneaux served as counsel on Indian affairs to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs from 1973 to 1990. During that time, Ducheneaux met both George Skibine and his brother, Alex Skibine. Ducheneaux said both brothers applied for employment with his committee, and he hired Alex. They worked together for two or three years. Ducheneaux said he met with Skibine along with Duffy two or three times on the Hudson matter, one of which was a large meeting on Capitol Hill on Feb. 8, 1995.